



Political violence **MAPPING**

LATINAMERICA



En Silencio negro queremos poner en evidencia, a través del campo estético, las huellas de aquellas violencias ejercidas por gobiernos o estados -con o sin derramamientos de sangre-. Violencias ejercidas mediante instrumentos que funcionan como arma agresora y que lograron una legitimación a lo largo de la historia. Nos interesa describir los modos en que este tipo de violencias y sus instrumentos operan y han operado encubriendo, justificando, desdibujando y silenciando genocidios, guerras, terrorismo de estado, migraciones forzosas, reeducación política, entre otras.

Uno de los objetivos principales de Silencio Negro es proporcionar un espacio de "combate" -un ring simbólico- para que el subalterno tome la palabra y se enfrente al silencio de la historia oficial.

Aquí ponemos en diálogo registros sonoros de los pueblos originarios de la Patagonia Argentino-Chilena quienes fueron masacrados, a lo largo de casi todo el siglo XIX, a manos del ejército argentino en las campañas al desierto y chileno en la Pacificación de la Araucanía con el objetivo de apoderarse de las tierras en que aquellos habitaban para su posterior distribución (en manos de unos pocos) y explotación acorde al modelo agrícola capitalista de producción Europeo.

Estos registros fueron realizados luego de finalizadas las campañas al desierto. Algunos datan de comienzos del siglo XX realizados con cilindros de cera y otros más recientes son grabaciones de campo realizadas por musicólogos como Isabel Aretz o antropólogos como Anne Chapman, Martin Gusinde, entre otros. Cada uno de ellos con su mirada y sus intenciones particulares. Muchos de estos registros forman parte de patrimonio privado de museos y muchos otros son de libre acceso.

Los pueblos originarios que han escuchado son (de sur a norte):

Selk'nam
Yamana
Kawasqar
Aonikenk/Tehuelche
Mapuche



Mapa de la violencia política Latinoamérica somos Sebastian Preit, Facundo Negri, Melisa Rolandi

In Black Silence we want to highlight, through the aesthetic field, the traces of those violences exerted by governments or states -with or without bloodshed. Violences exerted by means of instruments that function as an aggressor weapon and that have achieved legitimacy throughout history. We are interested in describing the ways in which those types of violence and their instruments operate and have operated, covering up, justifying, blurring and silencing genocides, wars, state terrorism, forced migration, political re-education, among others.

One of the main objectives of Black Silence is to provide a space for "combat" -a symbolic ring- for the subaltern to take the floor and clash the silence of official history.

Here we put into dialogue field recordings from originary peoples of the Argentine-Chilean Patagonia who were massacred, throughout almost the entire nineteenth century, at the hands of the Argentine army in the campaigns to the desert and the Chilean in the Araucanía Pacification with the objective of seizing the lands in which they inhabited for its subsequent distribution (in the hands of a few) and exploitation according to the capitalist agricultural model of European production.

These recordings were made after the campaigns to the desert had ended. Some date from the early twentieth century made with wax cylinders and others more recent are field recordings made by musicologists such as Isabel Aretz or anthropologists such as Anne Chapman, Martin Gusinde, among others. Each of them with their gaze and their particular intentions. Many of these recordings are part of the private heritage of museums and many others are freely accessible.

The originary peoples that you have heard are (from south to north):

Selk'nam
Yamana
Kawasqar
Aonikenk/Tehuelche
Mapuche



Political Violence Mapping Latin America is Sebastian Preit, Facundo Negri, Melisa Rolandi

X INDEX

Tehuelches and selk'nam (Santa Cruz and Tierra del Fuego): "We did not dissapear" [Tehuelches y selk'nam (Santa Cruz y Tierra del Fuego)]

by **Ministerio de Educación y Deportes de la Nación Argentina** [Argentinean educacion and sports ministry]

Kawésqar myths: economy and mystery of the fragment [Mitos kawésqar: economía y misterio del fragmento]

by **Eugenia Brito**

War in the margins of the state [La guerra en los márgenes del Estado]

by **Nicolas Richard**

Story [Relato]

by **Catalina Antilef**

War to the Malon [La guerra al malón]

by **Manuel Prado**

From non-event to genocide. Originary peoples and state policies in Argentina [Del no-evento al genocidio. Pueblos originarios y políticas de estado en Argentina]

by **Walter Delrio**

Three questions about war and genocide [Tres preguntas sobre guerra y genocidio]

by **Walter Delrio**

The Selknam genocide: new antecedents [El genocidio Selknam: nuevos antecedentes]

by **Mateo Martinic B.**

Reconstruction of the extinction process of the Selk'nam through missionary books [Reconstrucción del proceso de extinción de los Selk'nam a través de los libros misionales]

by **Clara Garcia Moro**

The map of the invisible. Silences and grammar of power in cartography [El mapa de lo invisible. Silencios y gramática del poder en la cartografía]

by **Vladimir Montoya Arango**

All texts to come are a selection of essay fragments from previously mentioned authors. Consider this as an introduction to them. If you dont like the metamorphosis of essay into poem we dont care.

“

The military objectives
had been met,
the time had
come of the
distribution of the
national patrimony

”

Prado, Manuel. La guerra al malón [The war to Malon], Buenos Aires, Eudeba, 1966.

We did not disappear

Why didn't the elders teach us the language?

... as a "white race" they considered themselves superior to other supposed races - which they also referred to with colors (yellow, red and black) -
and this belief allowed them to justify their dominance through
the colonization,
slavery,
explosion,
segregation,
humiliation
and murder
around the world

How were the indigenous people made invisible?
Why is it often said that Tehuelches and Selk'nam were "extinct"?

Argentina
and Chile
advanced on the indigenous territories of Patagonia,
in a process that they called "Conquest of the desert", on one side of the mountain range, and
"Pacification of the Araucanía" on the other

Why didn't the elders teach us the language?

In 1884, the Argentine State created the "National Territories" on indigenous territories.
The land was gridded into fiscal "lots"
and, shortly after, they became "private property",
bought by a few settlers who acquired large tracts

After the military offensive, the indigenous people who survived the murders were forced to abandon their customs and habits that the new authorities considered "primitive".

In the name of "civilization
and progress",
the families were
displaced,
relocated to
concentration camps
and then dismembered
baptized with other names
—Many times with the surname of the bosses,
listed as "godparents"
and they had parental authority—
were forced to become
Argentine, Chilean, Paraguayan "citizens", etc.

This is how the pre-existing peoples were divided by national borders
and, later, by provincial borders exceptionally, when they demonstrated that they had ceased to be indigenous
and they were
"civilized",
a few obtained the
land as their property

"Extinguishing" was the destiny of the "inferior races"
—The evolutionist discourses held
and civilizational of that time



After Santa Cruz acquired the status of a province in 1957, two provincial "assimilationist" laws were enacted that held that the indigenous people should move to the cities to "civilize" and finish "assimilating" to the rest of society

until the nineties of the twentieth century,
many children were uprooted from their homes
and interned in orphanages

The selk'nam,
the kaweskar,
the yagans
and the haus of Tierra del Fuego, as well as
the tehuelches
and the Mapuches in Santa Cruz,
were incorporated into the labor market
as labor
(pawns,
cooks,
babysitters or
housekeeping),
first in the ranches
and, since the middle of the 20th century, in the cities

In the eighties began the tributes to a few,
considered the "last tehuelche"
and the "last ona",
defined according to racial criteria
and culturalists of the previous decades

*Camusu Aike is a community, not a reserve.
We are not reserved for when you need our work.
We prefer to speak of 'community'
and not in reserve because we are united, we were born
and we live in the same place, we know each other
and we can help each other "*

Construction workers,
drivers,
serene buildings,
oil employees,
domestic workers,
teachers of public buildings and schools,
commercial and public management employees
We are not extinct ... check on us

 **Ministerio de Educación y Deportes de la Nación Argentina.** Tehuelches y selk'nam (Santa Cruz y Tierra del Fuego):
"No desaparecimos" [Tehuelches and Selk'nam (Santa Cruz and Tierra del Fuego): "We did not disappear"]. 2016



the writing of a nation
and the breakdown of it is contained in these accounts,
both in what it says and in what it is silent,
in oblivion,
in disconnection,
in hesitation,
in displacement
they speak in the same way as the stories;
indeed, they constitute the very site of its enunciation

How do we capture the writing of
a group
history when it is
represented by a great absence,
an empty engine,
from which echoes come to us?

Oral reports have the meaning of developing a memory practice,
practice that keeps the historical ties of a community alive,
rich in motifs,
as myths reveal

doubt,
hesitation,
silence
are part of this
writing system,
they weave it.



Brito, Eugenia. Mitos kawésqar: economía y misterio del fragmento [Kawésqar myths: economy and mystery of the fragment. 2010



The war on the margins of the State

Araucanía,
Patagonia,
Chaco,
Tierra del Fuego
Chiriguano mountain ranges,
Rapa Nui,
etc
the Chilean occupation of the Mapuche Araucanía,
the annexation of Easter Island,
the colonization of Tierra del Fuego,
the Conquest of the Desert and
that of the southern Argentine Chaco,
the Bolivian entrance over the Chiriguano mountain ranges,
the Paraguayan-Bolivian military occupation of the northern Chaco,
etc
train,
Telegraph,
weapon to replay
missionaries,
military,
engineers

colonial moment
of the South American republics
rentier oligarchies
his belle époque:
its palaces,
his walks,
their excessive tastes,
its orientalist perfume
and beyond
territories 'newly opened to civilization',
the 'barbarism' crammed into reservations and missions,
protected capitalist enterprises
by military forts and the land,
confiscated and distributed among settlers
(suddenly, then,
the Chaco like the Congo,
or Araucanía as Algeria)

conquered without 'war'
an island was 'taken possession',
'a desert' was conquered,
a region was 'pacified',
'campaigns' and 'expeditions' were carried out,
but there was never 'war'
never a subject



Fireland,
sustained violence by armed settlers
and hired militias,
without state frame;
or an army in order occupying
methodically a region
(Araucanía, Patagonia);
or from an undercover process under a
international war
(the occupation of the boreal Chaco
it comes hidden
in the Chaco war
as much and as that of
the southern Puna is not seen below
the War of the Pacific,
or the village
and occupation of the territory
mbayá is covered by
the Paraguayan War)

more confusing and almost statistical,
a set of 'isolated incidents'
and individual deaths
the exceptionally high rate of
indigenous people killed by bullet that
characterizes contemporary advance
from the farm front
in Mato Grosso or
in the Chaco

Latin American paradox:
for 'wars',
is the region
most peaceful in the world;
for 'bullet deaths',
the most violent: that is,
is the region of the world in which
more people
die by bullet
without being at war:
Won't there be a problem
with
the definition
of war?



Political violence MAPPING

LATINAMERICA



"They captivated my grandmother and took her to Buenos Aires,
her old men surrendered and when they surrendered they said ...
how did those people work, women and children,
shovel ditching
says that when they were carried, the one who got tired
They killed him there and that's it, they took them by foot, by foot,
the boys were killed just for hurting and for the gambling,
the boys got tired
and they killed them
and ready,
they put them
to roast the same as
to a lamb ... "



Story by **Catalina Antilef**, recently deceased resident of Futahuao, Chubut.



The military objectives had been met,
the time had come of the
distribution of the
national patrimony.

The public auction law from
December 3, 1882
granted 5,473,033 hectares to the
speculators.

Another law, 1552
called by the ironic name of
"Possessory rights", awarded
820,305 hectares to
150 owners.

The "military awards" law from
September 5,
1885, delivered to
541 senior officers of the
Argentinian army
4,679,510 hectares in the current provinces of
La Pampa,
Rio Negro
Neuquén,
Chubut and
Fireland.

The cherry on the cake came in
1887:
a special law of the
National Congress awarded
General Roca with other
15,000 hectares.

If we do numbers,
we will have this balance:
The so called
"Conquest of the desert"
served so that between
1876 and 1903, that is, in 27 years,
the State gave away or sold for coins
41,787,023 hectares to
1,843 landowners
closely linked by
economic and/or
family ties to the different
governments that followed in that period.



Prado, Manuel. La guerra al malón [War to the Malon], Buenos Aires, Eudeba, 1966.

Yancamil

Awkan

Winkamalon

From non-event to genocide

NGTRAM

account for the loss of links
characterized mainly by the
separation of children from their
families

Valcheta is the most significant concentration camp
a place of concentration,
torture
and death
ran until the mid-1890s

The vast majority were expropriated of their material assets, concentrated
and deported to the cities to be used
as a labor force for domestic service, the police
and industries subsidized by the national state, such as the sugar factory in Tucumán
and the wine industry in Cuyo

The museum

(Especially the National Museum of Natural History of the city of La Plata),
the language manual
and the folkloric collection,
have been performative mechanisms of the idea that the
campaigns to the desert were the last link in a chain
that is separated between the past (that of the indigenous world)
and the present
and future of the civilized nation-state

The indigenous can only be considered as an endangered remnant
contemporary indigenous people were there in the showcases,
constructed as "past"
at the same time that they were explained
as part of a logic of evolution
and as pieces of the heritage of a natural history

- 1 - Museum of Natural History (the absence in the museum of National History and Fine Arts)
- 2 - The language as an instrument of colonization in a context of concentration, deportation and distribution of people.
- 3 - the preservation of cultural heritage from the "survivals"
(and not since the genocide)

prisoners are not only used as labor to build the museum
there is a state that systematically manages this workforce;
that the language manual is for use,
not only from the military on their expeditions
or religious in their evangelization,
but of all those families that benefit from the indigenous
brought in wagons
and distributed in the city;
and, finally, that the lands were expropriated
and the graves raised for the installation of the large state
and fear necessary for its maintenance
and reproduction

If we understand the dimension of ethnocide as a cultural genocide,
then it is not another category
but a constitutive part of the
genocide



the term ethnocide:
"The genocide of the poor,
the genocide that
international powers
refuse to see "
was recovered to cover the
gaps left not so much by the
convention itself but because of the
restricted form as it has been understood

The concept
genocide
has shown in the last half century to have a reduced
and relative legal scope
and an important ethical dimension.



Walter Delrio. Del no-evento al genocidio. Pueblos originarios y políticas de estado en Argentina [From non-event to genocide. Originary peoples and state policies in Argentina] 2010.



lonko Pincén,
Maria Roca
Araujo families,
Cheuquelén,
peñalba
Mansilla
Pulmari,
Neuquén,
Catalan families,
Sandoval,
Puel,
Salazar,
Aigo,
Quidulef,
Ñanco,
Reyes,
Catrileo,
Añiñir,
Gil
and Antilef
Nahuelquir
Colonia Cuchamen, Chubut,
Napal families,
Necul,
Huenchunao,
Meli,
among many others

submission from 1872 to 1943
dispute over resources

in exploitation systems
forced transfers
of ranqueles to the sugar mills
from Tucumán and Misiones

Yancamil
awkan
or *winkamalon*

culture of fear (Taussig, 2006),
structural violence (Moses, 2008)
and gray area (Levi, 2006)
places, shapes and
performances that articulate
and make a particular
system of social relations

Mauricio Macri
Patricia bullrich
Clarín
felony,
crime,
hurt,
lost,
justice
and repair
among other



“

Culture of fear
Structural violence
Gray zone

”

Delrio, Walter. Tres preguntas sobre guerra y genocidio
[Three questions about war and genocide]. Memoria Americana. Cuadernos de Etnohistoria 27.2
Noviembre 2019



Punta Delgada Ranch (Springhill)

Salesian Mission of San Rafael (Dawson Island)

Social darwinism

Mauricio Braun, who was the first Director/Manager of the Sociedad Explotadora de Tierra del Fuego -the main colonizing company of the island territory-

John Mc Rae, rancher based in "Porvenir", who looked after both his own livestock interests and those of Rodolfo Stubenrauch y Co. recommended removing those obstacles -to clear them away- as soon as possible

There was no population, authorities or press to whom the unfortunate affair could matter

Mac Lennan, administrator José Menéndez ranches

the police force

James C. Robins, from the ranch "Primera Argentina" (owned by José Menéndez), a mechanical engineer by profession, was an immigrant who had business and social relevance in Magallanes. He was also a distinguished member of various charities in Punta Arenas.



Mateo Martinic B. El genocidio Selknam: nuevos antecedentes [The Selknam genocide: new antecedents]. 1989/90

two Salesian Missions in Tierra del Fuego.

in 1520, by Magellan

Sarmiento de Gamboa, in 1580,

1599 the Dutch Van Noort expedition

The Arrival of the First Gold Diggers (1881)

and the establishment of ranches after (1885)

Dawson Island Mission (San Rafael)

550 indigenous people in 1898

high mortality among the population there, especially children.

(in 1911) and the Mission was closed, only 25 Indians remained in it (Kuzmanich, 1990)

Rio Grande Mission (Our Lady of Candelaria)

also founded by Fagnano at the end of 1893

1894 = 70 onas

1895 = 150 indigenous people with their tents, who had been expelled from their territories by the ranchers;

The newspapers record the arrival of 94 more Indians only during the first five months of 1897, however at the end of that year 158 Indians remained in the Mission.

In 1902, there were 76 Indians left and in 1906 only 27 lived in the Mission.

La Candelaria ceased to function as a Mission in 1928 (1946?)

The early days of the Dawson mission (1888-1911) coincide with a time of maximum colonizing activity in the Chilean zone

In the Dawson mission, between 1889 and 1911, 862 deaths have been registered; in La Candelaria, between 1897 and

1915, and only for the Rio Grande area, 220 deaths.



Garcia Moro, Clara. Reconstrucción del proceso de extinción de los Selk'nam a través de los libros misionales [Reconstruction of the extinction process of the Selk'nam through missionary books]. 1992

ETHNOCIDE:
“The genocide
of the poor,
the genocide
that
international
powers
refuse to see”

Catela quoted in **Delrio, Walter**. Del no-evento al genocidio. Pueblos originarios y políticas de estado en Argentina [From non-event to genocide. Originary peoples and state policies in Argentina] 2010.

The map of the invisible

Manuel Francisco de Barros y Sousa
instrument map
image map

the parallel of latitude
zero
was assumed in the
Ecuador
according to the division more
natural of the globe,

the meridian
zero
has been moved
arbitrarily according to the
interests of cartographers - or of
powers they represent.

maps were essential for the expansion and maintenance of imperial power,
because it was with the cartographic projection that the idea of
border or
limit
would begin its rise as a preponderant element of the
spatial representation of the
state sovereignty

The colonialism that stemmed from the
European maritime expansion from
16th century marked a
fundamental geopolitical course in the
spatial configuration of the
known world

the validation structures
of ethnic / political / epistemic superiority
of the colonizer
were coined

Continental Europe erected the
colonies like their
periphery,
the necessary edges
to argue
its centrality,

the emergence of
modern epistemology would have as one of its
interpretive keys
the separation that
European geographers conducted between
the ethnic center and
the geometric observational
center

the ethnic center and
the geometric center coincided

Political violence MAPPING

LATINAMERICA



perspective mathematization
fixed and single point of view
sovereign look
outside representation
have a point of view on which
it is not possible to adopt
no point of view

The cartographer is a social subject,
mired in the net
of political interests that shape
social reality
of his time,
his knowledge is neither neutral nor impartial,
it is inserted in the plots of power
and his/her knowledge
is instrumentalized by that

its relative size,
the place established as
center,
the color,
the texts,
nominations and, especially,
the spaces left in

White
and deliberate information absences

more like a text
that as a true image of the real

the different actors,
the techniques and tools,
the intentionality of the author and the ways of carrying it out,
the funding agencies and their influences on the map,
the impact of the target audience,
the comparative study of the other documents and,
the fact that the map is a cultural product,
made in one place
and in a certain time
and within a certain established social order

the map is a way of
language that carries a
symbolic charge and,
as a way of knowing,
following Foucault,
it's a form of power

Left to its own devices
not illuminated by the spotlights of the story
and before the first assembly session with the designers,
the world is neither orderly nor chaotic,
neither clean nor dirty

Political violence MAPPING

LATINAMERICA



Human design is what it makes
disorder appear along with
the vision of order,
the dirt along with
the purity project

violence as a structuring principle
of the modern nation state,
found in cartography
a justification,
a refuge in which to consecrate
territorial exercise in
a sovereign act,
sanctified by consensus

State violence
in cartography helps to define
what or who exists
and in what order

Maps mean
psychic colonization
and conceptual control,

If establishing a social order implies
homogenization,
mapping
the territory is constituted in
the vehicle to ward off setbacks

the geo-body is
literally created on paper

As long as it remains like this
and only he who represents
and draw,
the center of the map will remain
ethnically white,
geopolitically metropolitan
and epistemologically Western.

social cartography needs to be recognized
as an argument to
transform reality



Montoya Arango, Vladimir. El mapa de lo invisible. Silencios y gramática del poder en la cartografía [The map of the invisible. Silences and grammar of power in cartography]

“

There is no
cry of pain
that in the
future does not
have, at last,
as an echo,
a joy

“